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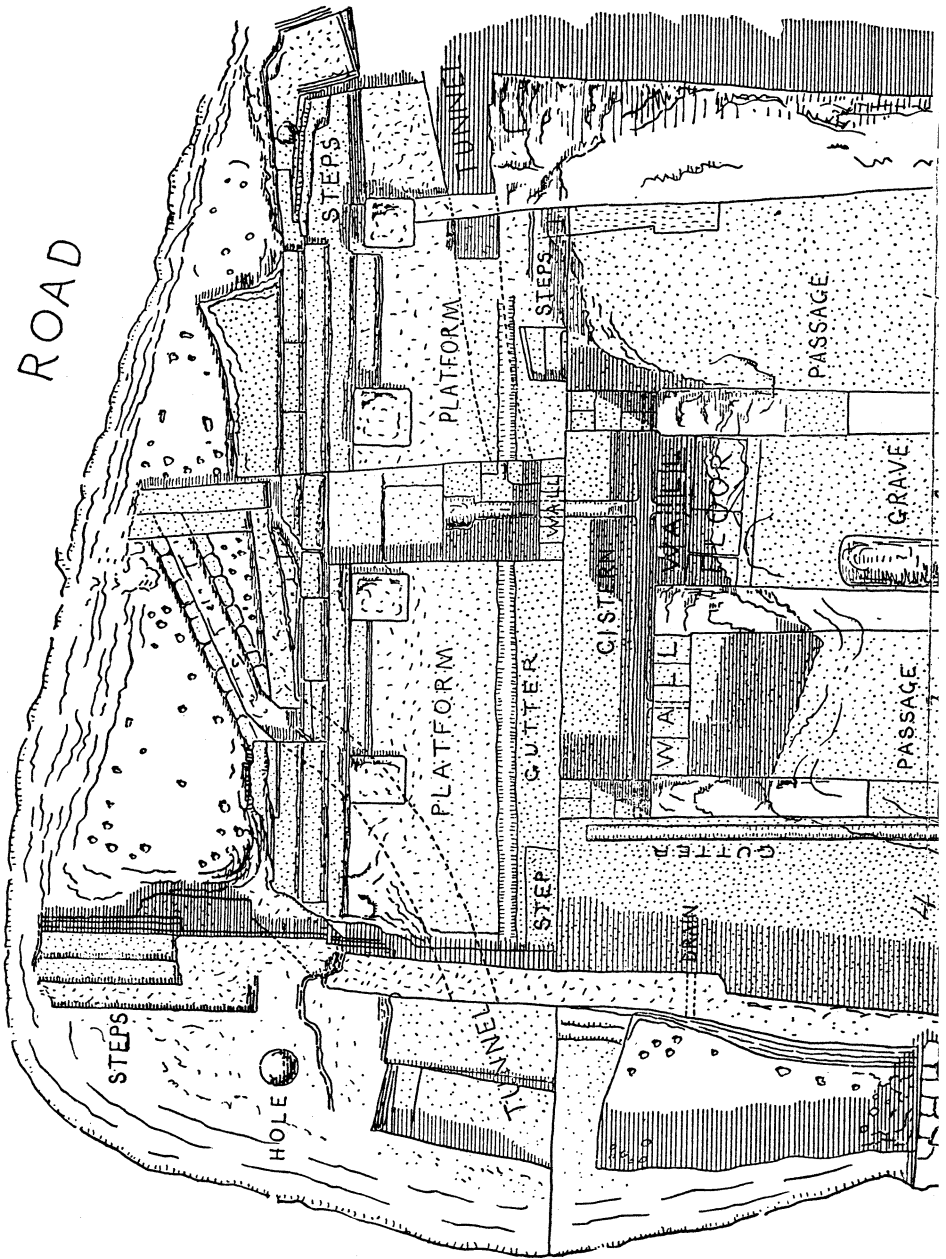
THE FOUNTAIN OF GLAUCE AT CORINTH

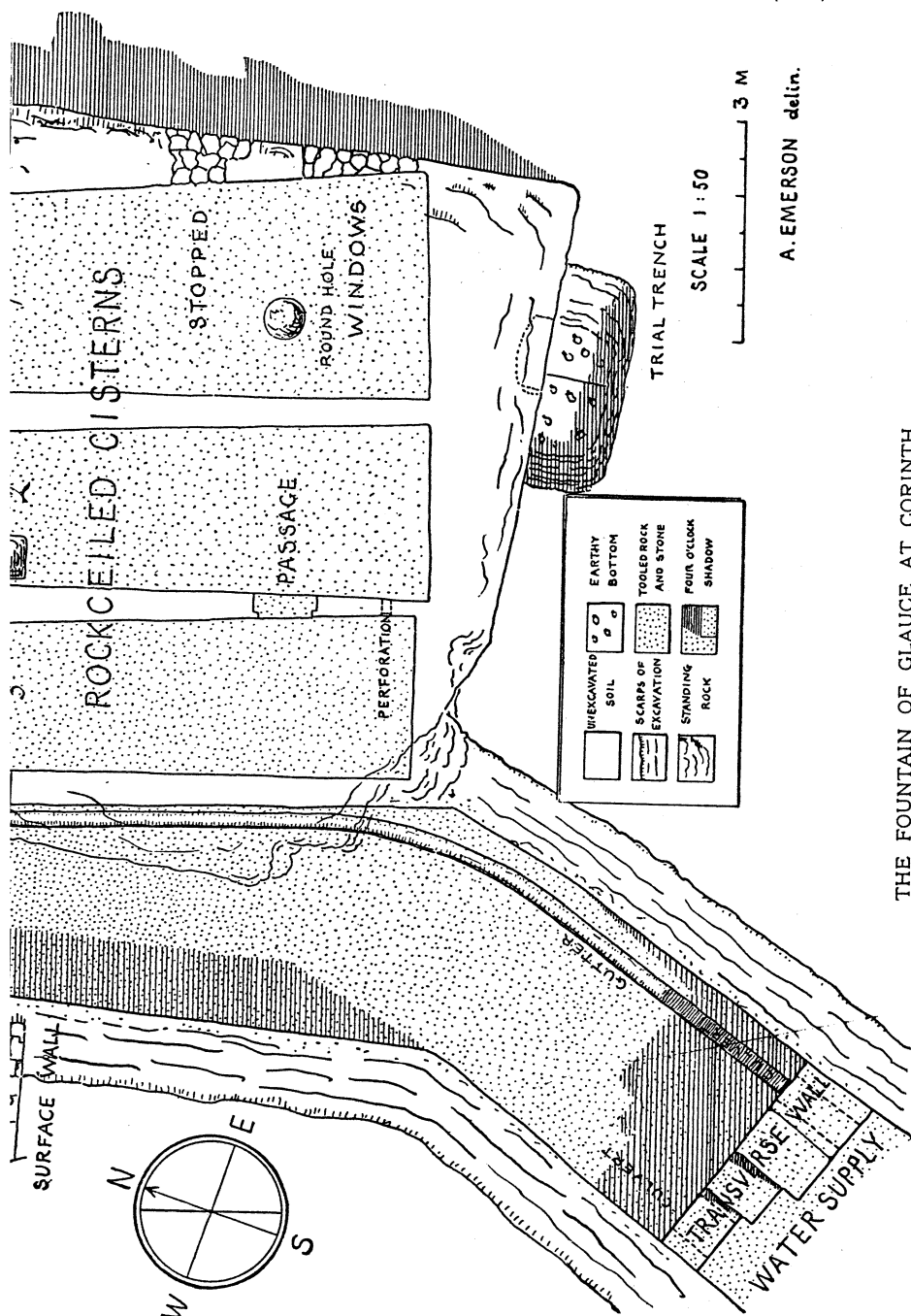
[PLATE VII]

ON April 12, shortly after the opening of the excavations for the season of 1899, we commenced clearing out the three openings in the huge block of native rock which, at a distance of about 80 m. west from the well-known ruin of the Old Temple, rose out of the ground about 3 m. This block, called by the peasants by its Turkish name of Boudroumi ('prison'), had never, so far as I know, received any explanation except that it was sometimes regarded as what was left over after the building-stones for the temple near at hand had been quarried around it. The significance of the chambers hewn out in it seems never to have been felt.

During the whole course of our work at Corinth, we have followed the plan of making tentative excavations along with our main undertaking, in the hope of finding other important centres than that in which we were at the time engaged. In attacking this cube of rock, however, we were not groping entirely in the dark (Fig. 1). In the previous campaign we had found Pirene, and so knew approximately the position of the Agora. We saw that a street running toward Sicyon from any now possible position of the Agora, and passing the theatre discovered by us in our first campaign (of 1896), must leave the temple ruin on its right; and so, by a simple application of the words of Pausanias,¹ 'as you go out from the Agora by another street, the one toward Sicyon, you see on the right of the street a temple and bronze statue of Apollo,' this ruin was shown to

¹ Paus. II, 3, 6.





THE FOUNTAIN OF GLAUCUS AT CORINTH

be the long-looked-for temple of Apollo. But inasmuch as we had not yet actually *found* the Agora, our whole topographical chain needed strengthening; and one of the monuments mentioned by Pausanias, just beyond the temple of Apollo on this street leading toward Sicyon, would be a most welcome additional link. Pausanias here mentions a group of three monuments in close connection—the fountain of Glauce, the Odeum, and the tomb of Medea's children. Since immediately after this group comes another in which one member is the theatre,

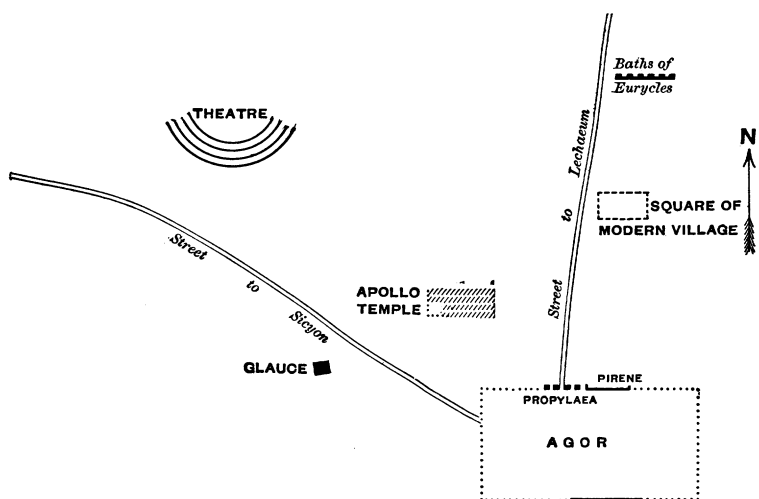


FIGURE 1. — SKETCH-PLAN OF SITES IDENTIFIED BY THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS.

the discovery of one of the three monuments enumerated, by giving us a line eastward from the theatre, would not only corroborate our name for the temple, but would also enable us to locate the Agora with certainty and precision at the intersection of the street from Sicyon with that which led up from Lechaum, past Pirene. We should thus have achieved, in a roundabout way, a result of the first importance, even if we had ceased to labor directly, proceeding forwards from Pirene, for the uncovering of the Agora itself. This latter task, however, we did not omit, but regarded it as our chief undertak-

ing; and our fortunate result was the speedy discovery of the Propylaea through which the street to Lechaeum passed, and through which we also passed into the Agora itself. But not on account of the success of our main undertaking should the result of the *πάρεργον* be slightly treated.

From what we already knew of the topography of the region, we started with the conjecture that we had to do either with Glauce, or with the tomb of Medea's children. The other monument of the group, the Odeum, it, of course, could not be.¹ But which of the two others it was, we were unable to ascertain until toward the close of our work. It is true that the presumption became ever stronger that it was Glauce. The three chambers, when cleared out one after another, beginning at the eastern one, to their floors of living rock at a depth of 6 m. from their massive rock-cut ceilings, showed well-preserved stucco on the lower parts of their walls; in front of them we found several water conduits, albeit mostly of a later date, and a large cistern, which at first puzzled us a good deal, and which I will explain presently. But the whole system was as dry as a bone, and we still lacked the conduit through which water had been delivered into it, and without this, we had no absolute proof that we were dealing with a fountain house.

A trench sunk along the back of the first or easternmost chamber showed that an irregular hole which appeared on the inside did not come through. We next dug a large trench about 20 m. to the rear, in the attempt to find a great subterranean aqueduct, which one peasant, older and bolder than the rest, averred that he had seen there when he was a boy. In this

¹ It is impossible to resist the impression that the writer of the article "Fons" in Smith, *Dict. of Antiq.* (p. 870), believed that the Odeum was built over Glauce. In speaking of the fountains of Corinth, he says: "Over one was a statue of Bel-lerophon and Pegasus, with the water flowing out of one of the horse's hoofs; over another, that of Glauce, was the Odeium." We, guided by the use of *ὑπὲρ* in the phrases *ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔστιν Ὀκταβλίας ναὸς* (Paus. II, 3, 1) and *ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ θέατρον ἔστιν ἱερὸν Διὸς Καπετωλίου* (II, 4, 5), supposed *ὑπὲρ* in the present case also to indicate a position 'somewhat higher up,' and accordingly made an attempt, in rising ground to the south, to identify the Odeum also, but without success.

trench also we failed to find our proof; but it subsequently appeared that we had come within 2 m. of the object of our search.

As we were operating on ground not expropriated by the government, and had to make our peace with the proprietor as we proceeded, we were somewhat hampered in our movements. But we next pushed westward from what had appeared to be the end of the system in that direction, and found a fourth compartment without a ceiling and without a back wall, which prolonged itself in the rear beyond the others, with a turn somewhat west of south, until at a distance of 6 m. from the southwest corner of the great cube it reached a transverse wall in which were two large orifices, through which water was once delivered from the direction of Acro-Corinth, the ultimate source of all the water of the region. We did not proceed farther;¹ we had reached our goal; Glauce was found, and another link was added to a chain already long enough and strong enough to constitute a topography of Corinth.

With the aid of several photographs, and of an excellent ground-plan, prepared by Professor Alfred Emerson (PLATE VII), an adequate idea of the situation and arrangement of the fountain house may be conveyed. Figure 2 shows the rock cube as it looked before the excavation, seen through the columns of the temple of Apollo. Figure 3 gives a view of the façade, now considerably broken away at its west end (toward the right), with the comparatively late wall closing the second and third chambers. Figure 4 gives a view from the rear, taken from a point near the wall, with the apertures through which the water was seen to have entered into the system, and looking toward the southwest corner of the whole. The curve in the fourth compartment without a ceiling is also here seen, as well as the opening like a door, through which the water, after

¹ At some future time we must trace the channel back farther. Since the ground rises quite perceptibly a little farther back, we shall probably find it coming up to a face of rock into which it will go. It is not impossible that we should trace it back to the fountain now issuing from the foot of Acro-Corinth, beside the usual road of ascent.

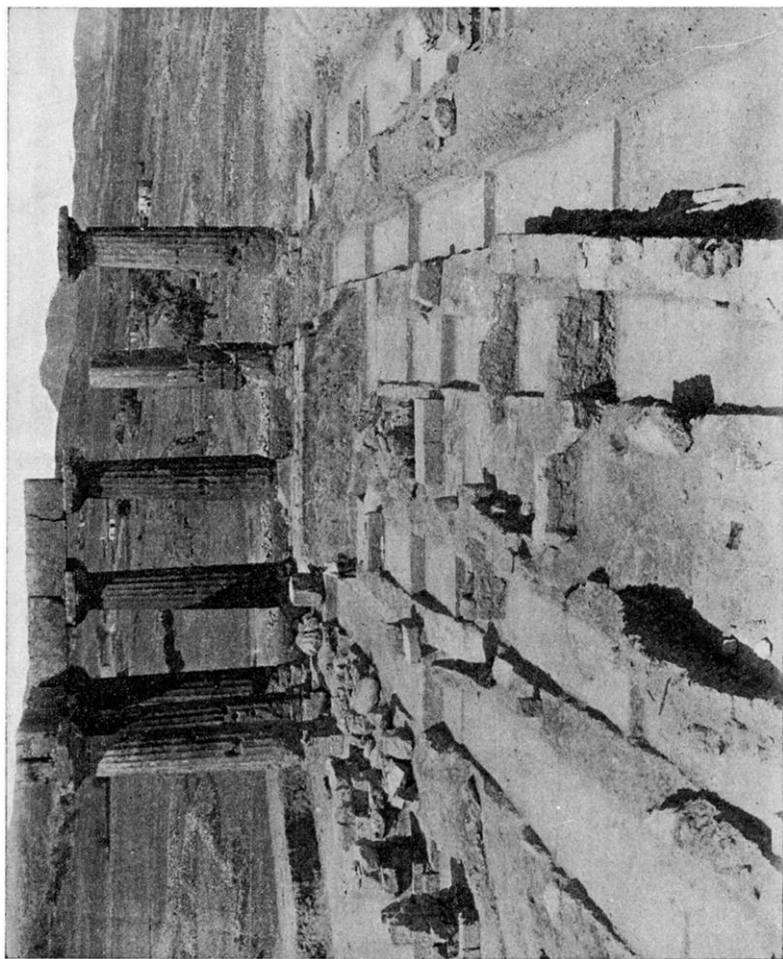


FIGURE 2.—GLAUCE; SEEN TO THE WEST, BETWEEN THE COLUMNS OF THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO.

flowing through this compartment, flowed into the chamber to the east of it, from which, through similar openings, it flowed into the other two.¹

My first thought was that the three chambers which had a rock ceiling constituted the fountain house, and that the fourth compartment was simply a broad channel for the introduction of the water. But subsequent examination and reflection convinced me that this also must be counted as a part of the fountain house itself. Three considerations lead to this conviction. In the first place, one sees that the rock ceiling does not stop with the third chamber, but projects westward beyond it in an irregular manner. This suggests that it once extended farther, and made a ceiling for the fourth compartment also. In the second place, the flight of four rock-hewn steps in front of the façade does not stop at the end of the third chamber, but proceeds on to the end of this fourth chamber, as we may now call it. Thirdly, the west wall of this chamber, now broken down to a height only a little above the top of the flight of steps, projected forward flush with the line of stumps of three pillars, which once stood in front of the division walls of the four chambers. This we found by clearing away some stones and mortar above it at the end of November, 1899.² As the east wall of the first chamber came forward in the same way, they make a whole of all that they enclose. Accordingly, we may restore a façade of three pillars between two antae—quite an effective front of 10.25 m. in length. The elevation (Fig. 5), drawn by Mr. Benjamin Powell, shows how much more impressive this façade was than that of Strabo's Pirene on Acro-Corinth, which had but one column between two antae.³

¹ These apertures are so placed that the water must circulate through a good part of each chamber before it can leave it by the next aperture, — an arrangement which might serve as a corroboration for the view of Defrasse and Lechat in their *Épidaure*, that the puzzling foundation walls at the centre of the famous Tholos of Polyclitus show it to have been a fountain house.

² This was after Professor Emerson had completed his drawing.

³ Given by Götting in *Arch. Zeit.* 1844, p. 330, and often reproduced.

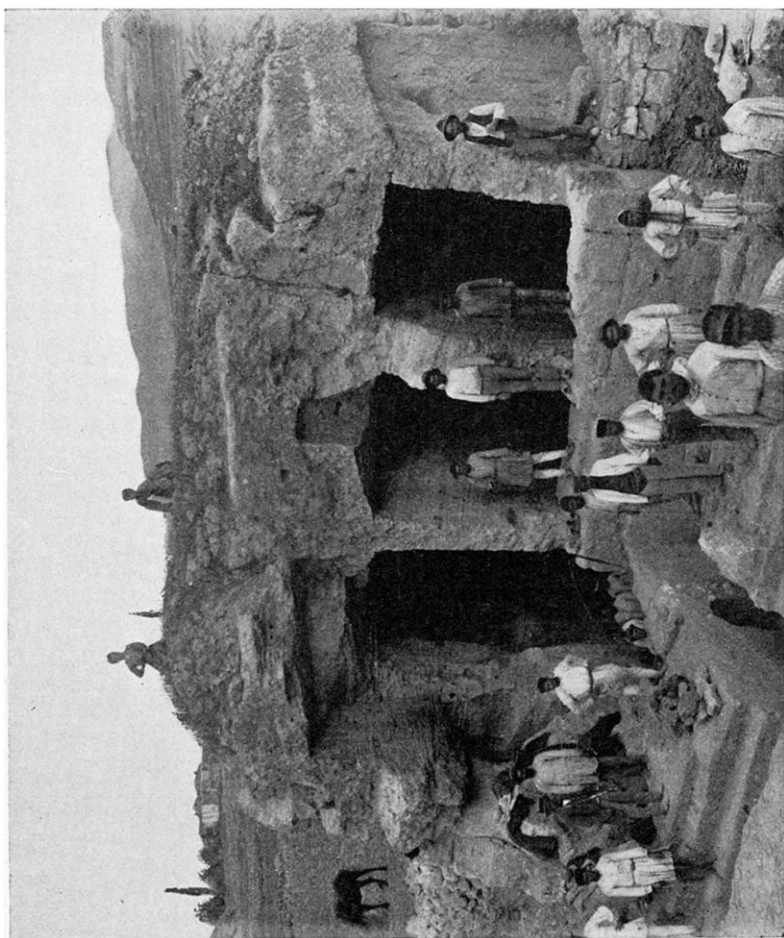


FIGURE 3. — GLAUCE : FRONT VIEW AS EXCAVATED.

That there was never a fifth chamber still farther to the west is made clear by the fact that the rock-cut steps did not proceed any farther in that direction, but turned a right angle to the north, a rock platform being left at their top; and also by an evident symmetry in the system as we have it, the two outside chambers being much broader than the other two, which also correspond. The most convincing proof, however, is the lack of any aperture for directing water into any chamber west of the fourth. Still, to make the case more certain, we dug far enough out to find the western wall to any chamber that could have existed here, and no such appeared, nor could it have existed unless it was at least three feet wider than any of the others.

The chambers are all similar in shape, broadening from front to rear, until their dividing walls at the rear are very thin, in some places only about four inches thick. The first one is hewn at its rear end so far to the east that it breaks through the cube toward the top, while at the front on the same side there is a great mass of rock left. The chamber system appears in another point also to have been cut into the cube unsymmetrically, in that a great mass of rock is left at the rear of the eastern chambers, which becomes gradually thinner toward the west. In general, one can see that considerations of strength were here controlling. At the rear, where the thick wall of nearly a metre of living rock was left standing, there was no danger of the massive ceiling falling in; but at the front, where it had no support except the dividing walls, it was necessary that these should be strong. This was particularly true at the eastern end, where the ceiling was 2 m. thick against 1.30 m. over the third chamber. This consideration also accounts for the rear wall being thick at the east and growing thinner toward the west, as the ceiling diminished in thickness. The breaking down of the ceiling over the front part of the two middle chambers, and that of the western chamber entirely, shows that the precaution, so far from being uncalled for, was not carried far enough. In the stumps of



FIGURE 4.—GLAUCE: FROM THE SOUTHWEST CORNER.

three rock-hewn pillars in front of the division walls we read the story of the caving in of the northeastern corner of the ceiling. The desire to make an ornamental front curtailed the effort in the direction of strength; and the three pillars were made by hewing away the rock wall behind them, and thus making a sort of porch with the rock ceiling for its cover. When this caved in, probably on the occurrence of some earthquake, — and these were never lacking in this region, — it lurched over to the northwest, carrying the pillars and the north ends of the division walls, as well as the whole top of the western wall, along with it.

That this accident took place while water was still flowing here is shown by the change subsequently made in the two middle chambers, which, in consequence of the fall, were curtailed at the front, and, instead of running forward to the platform of rock, were bounded in this direction by walls built 1.50 m. back of this platform, and approximately under the edge of what remained of their ceiling. The space between this new front and the platform was then converted into a cistern, which was supplied with water through two holes quite at the bottom of the wall, and which continued long enough in use to receive a second coating of stucco.¹ What was done with the remains of the fourth chamber at this time is matter for conjecture. Perhaps it was covered over with slabs, and made, like its extension to the rear, water-tight by means of stucco. At one time at least it appears likely that this channel in the rear was made so water-tight that water rose in the chambers considerably higher than the top of the platform (which is 2.10 m. above the bottom of the east chamber), if we may trust the evidence of the stucco on the walls. We must then posit a water-tight parapet on the platform, closing the chambers to a height of a metre or more. Traces of the bedding of this parapet may perhaps be seen in

¹ That water continued to flow around the front of the façade until the present century is rendered likely by some very modern-looking tile pipes found there at a depth of about a metre below the surface.

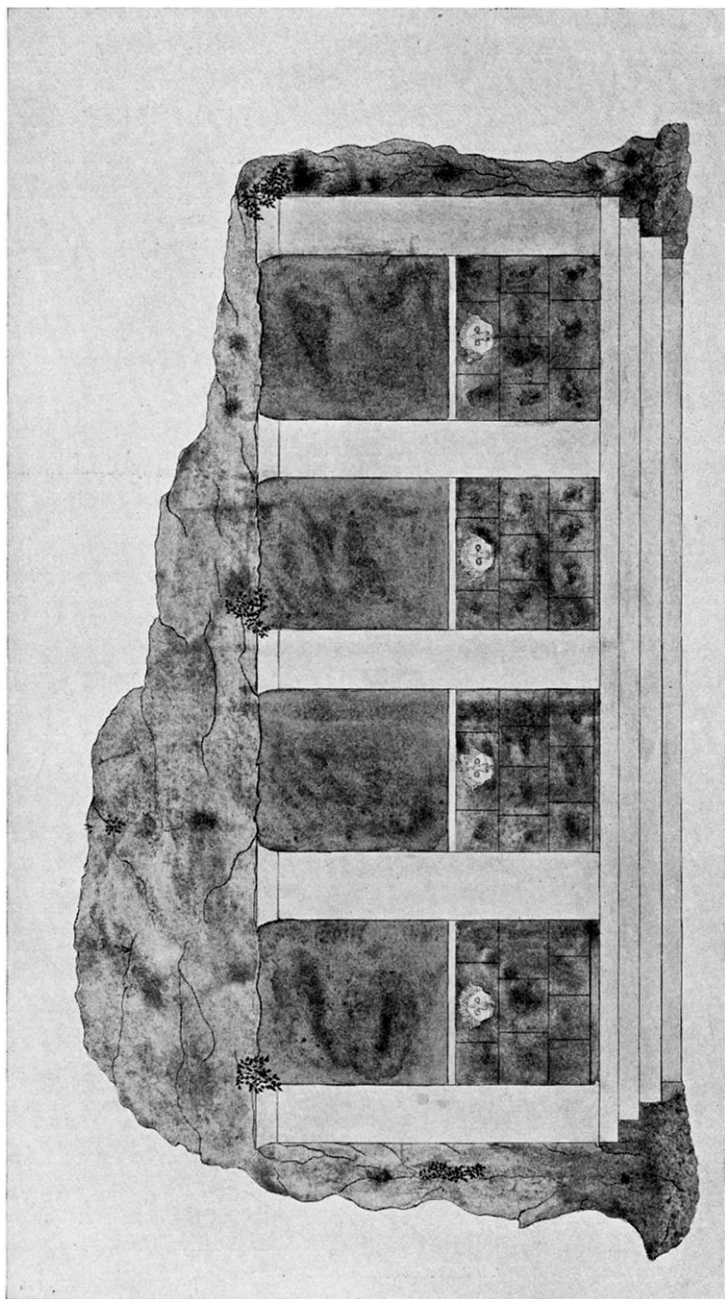


FIGURE 5. — FAÇADE OF GLAUCE: RESTORED.

the cutting marked on the plan as a "gutter." In this parapet we may suppose openings to have been made, to which the usual lion's-head spouts were affixed for filling pitchers. Two such lion's heads were found in the cistern above described, and are reproduced in Fig. 5. In all probability there were once four of them, giving a Tetrakrounos. To exclude doubts as to the likelihood of the Greeks constructing a channel sufficiently water-tight to force water up to so high a level, we have the fact that the joints in the wall between the cistern and the middle chambers are so well made that not until after a good deal of picking away of the hard stucco could we convince ourselves that it was not a wall of native rock. The corner joints especially, having a little filling of this hardest kind of cement, seemed hewn out of the solid rock.¹

At some time when the water supply became less abundant, perhaps in the days when Hadrian felt the need of bringing more water from Stymphalus, it apparently became necessary to deliver the water at a lower level. An approach was then cut through the steps and the whole rock platform to the cistern, and steps going up and then down were laid, to enable women to bring their pitchers to the lower level.² A rock-cut passage from the east seems to be another approach to the same point.³ But we are here on debatable ground. A narrow gutter running the whole length of the floor of the fourth chamber, also furnishes some difficulty. Perhaps when the water was shut

¹ That this forcing of water to a height was practised by the Greeks is the opinion of E. Curtius, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen (Die Städtischen Wasserbauten der Hellenen)*, Vol. I, p. 139. Reprinted from *Arch. Zeit.* 1847.

² The reason for not leaving the whole passage open is not clear. A discharge canal was laid out here, but that could have been simply covered with plaques. Another unsolved question is how the surplus water was carried off before this passage was cut. It may have to be conceded that the passage belonged to the original arrangement. But the difficulty of explaining the added steps remains, and I conceive the passage to be later than the first laying-out of the fountain.

³ It is at one point not high enough for a person to stand upright; but, as it clearly slopes toward the façade, it cannot have served as a discharge pipe. It is possible that the main overflow may have been at the southeast corner, high up, where the wall is broken through. At the west is a rock-cut channel under the steps, which may, in some way, have served for the discharge.

off with a view to cleaning the fountain house, one might have scrubbed the floors, in the last instance, into this little gutter.

That this fountain was unpretentious, depending for its effect upon its rugged massiveness, is almost certain. Possibly the Greek spirit would have demanded some sort of capital for the pillars. But that they were as modest as those of *Pirene* admits of little doubt (see above, p. 211). The whole was probably calculated to produce the effect of a series of natural grottos like those of *Pirene*, only much higher. In this case, more was left to nature than in the case of *Pirene*, where artificial cross walls were demanded for supports. Whether the Romans, when they came, had the boldness to attach to it, as they did to *Pirene*, their favorite marble revetment, may be doubted. The only traces of marble found near were the two lion's heads above mentioned, and as they were found so near the front of the fountain, the presumption is that they were attached in some way to the façade. They are of fine workmanship, comparable to the lion's heads from the *Tholos* at *Epidauros*, and are certainly from the older, Greek *Corinth*. The lion's heads on the half dozen cornice blocks found on the west slope of the valley, east of the temple of *Apollo*, are in sufficient contrast to ours to warrant calling those on the cornice blocks dead and ours alive. The former come from a time when the spirit was gone out of art, when artisans could reproduce the Athenian *Propylaea* at *Eleusis*, but could not put the Greek spirit into it. Our lion's heads cannot belong to this period, although they may not belong to the first arrangement of the fountain. They are Greek and not Roman.

As to this first arrangement, we have no literary evidence, since it is mentioned by *Pausanias* alone of all the ancient writers, and by him only in passing to the story of *Medea*. His explanation of the name, from the fact that *Jason's* new bride threw herself into it to escape the burnings of *Medea's* poison, could hardly be taken as substantial proof of its existence in very early times. But its general appearance, its simplicity, its massiveness, and its somewhat careless hewing,

convey the impression of great antiquity, and so would be in perfect keeping with the tradition which Pausanias notes. It also seems to have a natural consonance with the temple of Apollo near at hand, as if it belonged to it. Since this appears, from its style and from a reference to it in Herodotus (III, 52), to have been built in the times of Periander, if not before, we may very naturally think of Glauce as equipped at the same time and by the same builder, as the special fountain of the temple. When the stones for the temple were being quarried around it, the idea of saving a mass unquarried, for a fountain, would naturally be suggested, and we may conceive of temple and fountain as parts of one building scheme.

We thus have a most natural historical origin for the fountain: as Pisistratus at Athens, Polycrates at Samos, Theagenes at Megara, and tyrants generally, recognizing that an abundant supply of water was the one thing that pleased the people, laid out great water-works, so the clever Periander may be supposed to have thought to strengthen his hold on Corinth by furnishing Glauce at a crowded part of the city.

This was likely to be a favorite place of resort. A limited number could find cool shade on the platform, inside the columns, but even the steps, with their northern exposure, would be shaded a good deal of the day. But those who could not get near enough to see the deep, dark, cold water within, could at least enjoy the sight of the sparkling cold water gushing forth. The Odeum also was hard by.

That Glauce was an important and interesting object in itself will, I hope, have been shown by the foregoing description. But I feel that I should not have exhausted my subject, and might perhaps be regarded as derelict in duty toward a great enterprise, if I did not emphasize the importance of the conclusions which its discovery allows us to make in regard to the topography of Corinth. Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* of May 6, 1899, in speaking of the discovery of Pirene, says: "Damit ist der Eckstein zur Topographie von Korinth gelegt." But now that

we have Glauce, we have not merely one corner-stone but six, if one may so speak without running out of the metaphor. We have Pirene, the Agora, the temple of Apollo, Glauce, the theatre, and the Baths of Eurycles. Without adding more, we may look back with some complacency on the days when the coryphaei were battling over what they were pleased to call the topography of Corinth.

Take, for example, the plan of Corinth as given in Kiepert, *Atlas von Hellas*, 1879, pl. vi, reproduced in the annexed cut (Fig. 6). It looks very strange in the light of our excavations. The Agora is put too far to the north, and Pirene is shoved out of the city into the space between the long walls, regardless of the fact that Pausanias mentions several monuments, and among them the Baths of Eurycles, between Pirene and the limits of the city. A derangement of the actual order is also seen to the west of the Agora. But Kiepert is only basing his plan upon the topographical conclusions of Curtius and Bursian; and back of them is Leake. The truth is that Leake went astray, and they all went astray after him. Curtius's admiration for Leake is well known, and Bursian hesitated to differ widely from Curtius, the great German authority on the Peloponnesus. It is not strange that the four went astray when not one landmark of ancient Corinth had been identified. Had the theatre been discovered, or had the temple ruin received its right name, it might have been different. But the wonder is that they erred *as* they did. Curtius, for instance, thought with Leake that the group of monuments mentioned by Pausanias as on the street toward Sicyon after the temple of Apollo, of which Glauce was one, were on the left of the street. But when he gives as his reason that they would then find a place where they could comfortably hug the slope of Acro-Corinth,¹ one opens one's eyes wide with wonder. Placing the temple of Apollo where he does, he would have the real slope of Acro-Corinth nearly a mile away from the road to Sicyon as he lays it out. To crown all, Bursian² takes issue

¹ *Peloponnesus*, II, 531.

² *Geogr. Griechenlands*, II, 16, note 2.

with Curtius, and puts the monuments in question on the right of the street, for the reason that "an der Südseite war

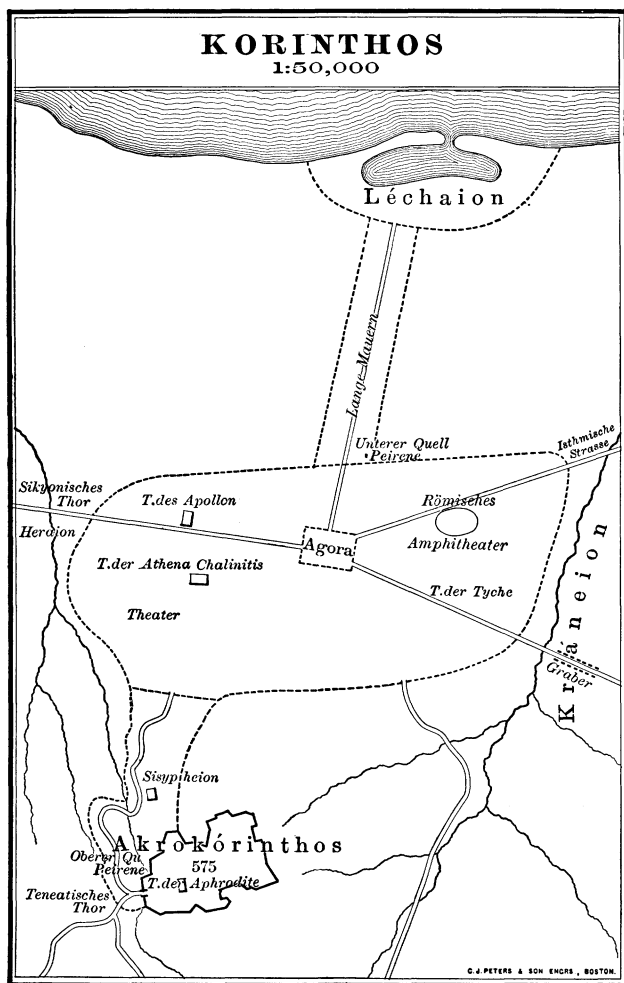


FIGURE 6.—KIEPERT'S PLAN OF CORINTH.

vermuthlich eben wegen des Fusses der Burg kein Raum für grössere Baulichkeiten." But we now know that all Corinth was there. How they could put Pirene, as they did, at the very lowest limit of the city, and the Agora near it, and then

run a street toward Sicyon past what they took to be the temple of Apollo, with any expectation of coming anywhere near to Acro-Corinth, is a mystery. It becomes amusing when Bursian complains of the "nicht allzuklare Schilderung des Pausanias."¹ Dörpfeld² and W. Gurlitt³ have the good sense to defend Pausanias from this imputation, the former admitting that the only difficulty in following him was that of finding a starting-point. We, having got the starting-point, find him a most clear, explicit, and trustworthy guide. It is almost strange that Curtius also did not complain of Pausanias's unclear description when he tried to make it fit the position which he gives, and which Kiepert faithfully follows, to the theatre, far up upon the slope of Acro-Corinth. Curtius's street to Sicyon would have to turn a right angle at his supposed temple of Apollo, and continue nearly a mile in that direction before it could reach the theatre and get on again in the direction of Sicyon, whereas Pausanias appears to be proceeding straight ahead, as we now know that he was doing.

The two great errors which ought now to be laid forever are, first, the misnaming of the well-known temple ruin and giving it the name of Athena Chalinitis, coupled with a perverse placing of the temple of Apollo, not farther east, as the description of Pausanias would demand, but farther north, on the strength of some architectural remains on the edge of

¹ *Geogr. Griechenlands*, II, 15.

² *Ath. Mitt.* XI, 305, "Beschreibung des Stadt besonders klar und übersichtlich."

³ *Ueber Pausanias*, p. 80. Gurlitt is probably in error only in regarding Roman Corinth as rather more regularly laid out than it actually was. He speaks of it as "dem regelmässig gebauten Korinth mit seinen vier grossen sich rechtwinklig durchschneidenden Hauptstrassen." Actually, the street to Lechaeum left the Agora approximately at right angles to its northern side, while the street to Sicyon surely went out on a bias to the western side, in order to pass between the temple of Apollo and Glaucæ; and after it got past the theatre must have followed the present road with something of a curve, in order to pass by Lerna, which we now see flowing about ten feet below the surface close to the present road. The course of this road from the Agora to the city wall is prescribed by the lay of the land, which has had a power to make streets and roads stay forever in the same place.

the bluff, the provenance of which is not clear, but which have proved an *ignis fatuus* to all the topographers, — even Dörpfeld, at the time of the preparation of his article already cited, not being able to resist the fascination of the idea of a temple of Apollo near at hand; second, the placing of Pirene at the very northern limit of the city with the baleful consequence of furnishing a support to this erroneous position of the temple of Apollo, an error started by Leake, and unsuspectingly followed by all the topographers down to Frazer in his exhaustive work on Pausanias, which appeared in the very year when Pirene was discovered. The correction of these errors is now easy, because the temple of Apollo and Pirene are fixed beyond controversy. Still, it is possible that the errors may have a long life, because they have been so long in possession of the field and have captured the handbooks; and because a correction always has hard work in overtaking an error that has gone out into all the world. It gives one an uneasy feeling about our so-called science of topography as applied to any unexcavated region when one sees that the topography of Corinth has been nothing but a structure of error piled upon error.

RUFUS B. RICHARDSON.

ATHENS,
November 30, 1899.